ALONG THE SOCIALIST OR THE CAPITALIST ROAD?

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Quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung

The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.

"Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"

ALONG THE SOCIALIST OR THE CAPITALIST ROAD?

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CHINA in the present era is the focal point of contradictions in the world, the storm centre of the world revolution.

Whither China? Will it take the socialist road or the capitalist road? This is not only a fundamental issue of Chinese politics, it concerns the destiny of the world proletarian revolution.

For some decades now at each historical stage of the development of the Chinese revolution and at each crucial moment of revolutionary change, a fierce struggle has gone on within the Chinese Communist Party over this fundamental issue, a struggle between two diametrically opposed lines.

One line maintains that the Chinese revolution must be led by the proletariat, that it must pass from the stage of the new democratic revolution to the stage of the socialist revolution, and that the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat must be car-

ried through to the end to achieve its ultimate goal, communism. This is the proletarian revolutionary line represented by our great leader Chairman Mao.

The other line stands for the liquidation of the proletarian leadership of the Chinese revolution, practises bourgeois reformism, and, in the stage of socialism, opposes the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and takes the capitalist road — the dark, old road that would lead China back to semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. This is the bourgeois reactionary line pursued in succession by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao right down to the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. And this person represents this reactionary line in its most concentrated form.

The two diametrically opposed lines lead to two entirely opposite prospects, two entirely opposite destinies for the Chinese revolution. It is precisely in the course of the struggle between these two lines that, guided by our great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese revolution has hacked its way forward

through all the difficulties and advanced victoriously.

The essence of this struggle has been the question of which road China should take. Its focal point has always been a matter of political power, a question of which class should exercise dictatorship.

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Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: In the stage of the democratic revolution, the focal point of the programme of the Chinese Communist Party is the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes led by the proletariat; in the stage of the socialist revolution, the focal point of the programme of the Chinese Communist Party is the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The question raised by Chairman Mao at the very beginning of his great work *On New Democracy* is: **Whither China?** In this brilliant Marxist-Leninist work, he sums up the

historical experience of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution in an all-round, penetrating and systematic way, scientifically formulates the political, economic and cultural programmes for the new democratic revolution, and clearly and thoroughly charts the road of transition from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. He says:

> **The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but will result in the establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat. The revolution will then be carried forward to the second stage, in which a socialist society will be established in China.**[1]

Chairman Mao sharply refuted the fallacious reactionary theory which vainly calls

[1] **Mao Tse-tung,** *Selected Works,* **Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 347.**

for the establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China. He explicitly pointed out that, judging by China's international and internal situation, anyone who dreamed of establishing a capitalist society, a society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, would eventually find himself in the lap of imperialism, with the result that China would again become a colony or semi-colony and part of the reactionary world under imperialism. Here Chairman Mao was sharply refuting not merely the Right-opportunist Wang Ming whose notorious reputation had long been established but also the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who has now been exposed.

This top Party person in authority is a seasoned opportunist and revisionist, a representative of the bourgeoisie who has sneaked into our Party.

Back in the early twenties, he was already singing the very same tune as the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu. He viciously attacked the proletarian revolutionaries, saying that the seizure of political power "of course cannot be carried out right now by such a juvenile

proletariat, judging by the present situation in China. Since it is a matter of the distant future, there is no need to waste words discussing it".[1]

Soon after Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary coup of April 12, 1927, he followed the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu in ordering the workers' pickets in Wuhan to hand thousands of rifles over to the Kuomintang. Furthermore, he himself appeared at a meeting called by the Central Workers' Affairs Department of the Kuomintang and reported to it about the so-called "significance and course of the voluntary disbandment of workers' pickets by the Hupeh Provincial General Council of Trade Unions".[2]

After the publication of Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy*, he sprang into a direct attack on Chairman Mao, singing a tune entirely opposed to *On New Democracy*. He went so far as to praise Chiang Kai-shek as "the banner of the revolution" and declared:

[1] "Criticism of the Past Work and Plan for the Future Work of the Club", August 20, 1923.
[2] Hankow *Minkuo Daily*, July 5, 1927.

"I think that under the banner of the Three People's Principles of the Kuomintang the Chinese revolution will move ahead much more smoothly than under any other banner, at least at the present stage of the democratic revolution."[1] He asked spitefully: "Why don't we say that we are carrying out the Three People's Principles instead of obstinately working out something else?"[2] Here this old opportunist showed himself up completely as a renegade opposing and selling out the revolution!

After the War of Resistance Against Japan was won, U.S. imperialism made use of its lackey Chiang Kai-shek and tried to convert China into its own exclusive colony. At that juncture the Chinese people were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. This was a great battle that was decisive for the choice between the two destinies, two prospects for China. The question of state power confronted the proletariat in a still

[1] "Strategy and Tactics of the Chinese Revolution", October 10, 1942.
[2] *Ibid.*

more acute way. In good time Chairman Mao pointed this out to the whole Party and the people throughout the country. In his brilliant speech *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan*, Chairman Mao pointed out:

> **From now on the struggle will be, build what sort of country? To build a new-democratic country of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat? Or to build a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie? This will be a most complicated struggle. At present it takes the form of a struggle between Chiang Kai-shek who is trying to usurp the fruits of victory of the War of Resistance and ourselves who oppose his usurpation. If there is any opportunism during this period, it will lie in failing to struggle hard and in making a voluntary gift to Chiang Kai-shek of the fruits which should go to the people.**[1]

[1] **Mao Tse-tung,** *Selected Works,* **FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 18.**

Chairman Mao also pointed out: **"Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land,"**[1] and **"as Chiang Kai-shek is now sharpening his swords, we must sharpen ours too."**[2]

It was none other than the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road whom Chairman Mao was criticizing and repudiating here as representing opportunism. Once again this old-line opportunist had systematically set out his national capitulationist and class capitulationist line of opposing and selling out the revolution, at the historical juncture of the great battle decisive for the choice between two destinies, between two prospects, for China. He asserted that "at present the main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary; it is a legal mass struggle and a parliamentary

[1] *Ibid.*, **p. 14.**
[2] *Ibid.*, **p. 15.**

struggle".[1] He wanted our Party to hand over all our armed forces and arms to Chiang Kai-shek so that they "become units of the national army, national defence army, security troops and self-defence forces" and "to liquidate Party organizations" in the army. He demanded that our Party "stop its direct leadership and command of the armed forces, which should be placed under the unified command of the ministry of national defence"[2] (that is, the Kuomintang's ministry of national defence). In doing all this, what he really had in mind was to get slicked up and present himself to Chiang Kai-shek, hoping thereby to win favour in his eyes. He even had the effrontery to say that we should "be able to run for election and get people to vote for us" and that "we shall become one of the government parties (that is, parties of the Kuomintang government), no longer in opposition but in power, and some people will enter the ranks of officialdom. We had some official positions in

[1] "A Report on the Current Situation", February 1, 1946.

[2] *Ibid.*

the central government in 1927 which were lost when they started to strike us. This time the positions will not be lost if they strike us again".[1] What a confession of his innermost secret desire!

The Right-wing socialists and old-line revisionists, Bernstein and Kautsky and such traitors to the proletariat, all preached the parliamentary road, opposed revolution by violence, betrayed the interests of the proletariat and became ornaments and accomplices of the bourgeois reactionary regimes. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a bird of the same feather! If there is any difference, it is this — he was prepared to hand over the people's political power and the people's army with both hands at a time when China's proletariat had an army of more than 1,200,000 and a people's regime was established in areas with a total population of more than 130 million. This makes his advocacy of wholesale capitulation and betrayal all the more despicable and vicious!

At the very moment when the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road

[1] *Ibid.*

was attempting to sell out the fruits of victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, leaders of the "communist parties" of France and Italy, such as Thorez and Togliatti, were making a political deal with the bourgeoisie by bartering away the fruits of victory won by the people at the cost of blood. They handed over to the bourgeoisie several hundred thousand weapons — the revolutionary arms of the proletariat — in exchange for vice-premierships and other such official positions of the bourgeois state, and became men who will go down in history as criminals! At this historical turning-point, our great leader Chairman Mao told us: **"The arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over."**[1] **"The rights the people have won must never be lightly given up but must be defended by fighting."**[2] **"If they [the Kuomintang] fight, we will wipe them out completely."**[1] With heroic proletarian courage, our great leader Chairman Mao successfully resisted the world-wide adverse current of capitulationism — "the handing over of the guns" — and dared to fight on and win victory, so setting a brilliant example for proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world. Thus the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung demonstrated its boundless power.

It was precisely under Chairman Mao's wise leadership that our Party, our people and our army took the correct direction, took firm hold of the gun, broke through all resistance, marched forward triumphantly along the high road of revolution, and finally won their great victory in the people's War of Liberation and founded the People's Republic of China. It was a merciless verdict passed by history on the class capitulationism and national capitulationism of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road!

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[1] **Mao Tse-tung, "On Chungking Negotiations",** *Selected Works,* **FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 57.**

[2] **Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan",** *Selected Works,* **FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 15.**

[1] **Mao Tse-tung, "On Chungking Negotiations",** *Selected Works,* **FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 56.**

(2)

The founding of the People's Republic of China pushed history forward to a new stage, that is, from that of the new-democratic revolution to that of the socialist revolution. At that moment, the struggle between the two lines was focused on which road New China which was just founded should take — the socialist or the capitalist road? In the final analysis, this struggle was over the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie would be exercised in China.

On the eve of nation-wide victory in the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out clearly in his brilliant work *Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*:

> **After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened.**[1]

Later, in his speech on the Party's general line for the transition period Chairman Mao pointed out that **the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, marked the conclusion in the main of the stage of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of the socialist revolution.** He said:

> **The general line and general task of the Party during this transition period is gradually to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state over a fairly long period. This**

[1] **Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 369.**

general line is the beacon light which illuminates all aspects of our work. If we depart from it in any aspect of our work, we will commit Right or "Left" mistakes.

At such a time of great new change, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road once again came out as the spokesman of the bourgeoisie to pit himself against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. He went around flagrantly campaigning for the development of capitalism in town and country. He raised the slogan "struggle for the consolidation of the new-democratic system".[1] He talked nonsense, saying that "in China, there is not too much capitalism, but too little"; "it is necessary to develop capitalist exploitation, for such exploitation is progressive";[2] "the more you exploit, the greater your merit will be" and "such historic merit will be engraved for all

[1] "Speech at the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference", November 4, 1951.

[2] Quoted in *Patriotism or National Betrayal*, English pocket ed., FLP, Peking, 1967, p. 54.

time".[1] He stood for the development and long-term preservation of the rich peasant economy in the rural areas. And he still put forward the reactionary line of developing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China even after his plans for a bourgeois republic went completely bankrupt.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his utmost to oppose China's taking the socialist road. He said: "It will be a very long time before China takes really serious socialist steps."[2] It would take twenty years, or thirty years, although there were different estimates, but in any case there would be some scores of years of collaboration with the capitalists, first to realize industrialization, then to undertake the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture. He

[1] "Speech at the First National Congress of Youth", May 12, 1949.

[2] "Speech at the First Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference", September 21, 1949.

said: "When in the future industrialization is realized and there are more factories and more products, that will be the time to introduce socialism."[1] Summing it up, he said: "When in the future China has industrial over-production that will be the time for her to embark on socialism."[2] "When in the future China has industrial over-production" — what a remark! Industrial over-production is a characteristic of capitalism. This remark of his right away exposed his ambition to develop capitalism. The sort of things he peddled were actually not new, but a rehash of the "theory of productive forces" rubbish put forward by the old-line revisionists including Trotsky, Bukharin and Rykov, and completely repudiated by Lenin and Stalin at an early stage after the founding of the Soviet Union. He absolutely denied the role played by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the advanced socialist rela-

[1] "Speech at the First National Congress of Youth", May 12, 1949.

[2] "Speech at a Discussion Among Industrialists and Businessmen". April 25, 1949.

tions of production in promoting the growth of the productive forces. He absolutely denied the fact that the worker-peasant masses are the creators of social wealth and are the true motive force pushing forward the development of history. In his eyes there were only Messrs. Capitalists. He heartily desired to rely on them to achieve "merit" to be "engraved for all time" and to build his "utopia"!

What kind of "socialism" was he speaking about? Please note the following fantastic statement he made. He said: "Now, in the stage of new democracy, you capitalists can bring your initiative into full play. And what should you do in the future when China passes on to socialism? Last time when I talked to Mr. Sung Fei-ching (Sung was manager of the Tungya Woollen Mill, a die-hard counter-revolutionary whom the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road lauded to the skies after liberation and who, shortly afterwards, fled abroad — *Ed.*), I said: 'Now you run only one factory. In the future, you can run two, three . . . eight factories. When the country enters

socialism, you can hand the factories over to the state on the latter's order, or the state will buy them up; if the state has no money temporarily, it can issue bonds. Then, the state will still entrust the running of the eight factories to you and you will remain the manager, but a manager of state-owned factories. As you are capable you will be given eight more factories, altogether you will be entrusted with sixteen factories to run. Your salary will not be reduced but increased; however, you will have to run them well! Will you do this?' Mr. Sung said: 'Of course I will!' You will be called to a meeting to discuss how to carry through the transformation to socialism. You will certainly not frown, but all of you will come to the meeting with beaming faces."[1]

How wonderful! A capitalist sells eight factories to the state and gets back sixteen factories from the state. And this is called "socialism"! At that time, a group of capitalists did indeed exclaim "with beaming faces": "In the past we couldn't fathom what

[1] *Ibid.*

the Communist Party had in mind but now we're beginning to learn." And the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said to them obsequiously: "I'll let you get to the bottom of what the Party has in mind and let you know what you want to know."[1] What true servility! He literally delivered the goods to the door-step. Haven't the old and new revisionists all talked about "growing into socialism peacefully"? Here indeed was a living sample. And it is they themselves who have truly "grown into" capitalism! Didn't the No. 1 agent of the bourgeoisie who "grew into" our Party thoroughly expose his own ugly face?

In order to hoodwink others, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road also hypocritically talked about the dictatorship of the proletariat, but his dictatorship of the proletariat is fake proletarian and genuine bourgeois dictatorship.

He was bitterly hostile to the working class. He once yelled: "There are also un-

[1] "Speech at the First National Congress of Youth", May 12, 1949.

reliable people in the working class" and "Don't assume there are no problems about relying on the working class."[1] At one stroke he wrote off the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which mainly took the form of restriction and opposition to restriction [of capitalism]. He blatantly asserted: "There must be no restriction for seven or eight years. This is beneficial to the state, the workers and production."[2] He went so far as to advocate: "State-owned and private enterprises should consult together on all questions, from raw materials to marketing, and should jointly decide on their allocation," and he added, "so that all can share in making money."[3] He openly called on the bourgeoisie to "fight" the proletariat. He said: "You must fight the workers. If you fail to do so, don't blame the Communist Party if in the future the workers fight till

[1] "Instructions on the Work in Tientsin", April 24, 1949.

[2] "Speech at a Discussion Among Industrialists and Businessmen", April 25, 1949.

[3] *Ibid.*

your factories are ruined."[1] There it is! In his eyes the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class is not to fight the bourgeoisie but to fight the working class! What is more, he openly said: "Today we do not want dictatorship by one class. We should represent the entire people."[2] Is this not out-and-out betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road desperately opposed the socialist transformation of agriculture and sabotaged the development of agricultural co-operation. About the poor peasants who took the lead in raising the demand to organize themselves, he disparaged them as bankrupt "poor peasants unable to farm individually".[3] He described the proposal that the agricultural mutual-aid team should be developed into agricultural co-operatives as

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] "Instructions on the Work in Tientsin", April 24, 1949.

[3] "Instructions to An Tzu-wen and Others", January 23, 1950.

"erroneous and dangerous utopian agrarian socialism".[1] In collusion with a handful of Right-wing opportunists, he drastically cut down the number of co-operatives, and altogether 200,000 agricultural co-operatives were dissolved. He said viciously: "What do we mean by laissez-faire? We mean allowing free hiring of farm hands and freedom for individual farming; if they all have three horses and a plough, that will be very fine. There can be no laissez-faire for those who do not permit the hiring of farm hands or freedom for individual farming! Those who interfere with the 'three horses' proposition are not to be allowed to do as they please!"[2] In this way he not only gave to the rich peasants the freedom to develop exploitation, but refused to give the poor and lower-middle peasants the freedom to organize and engage in mutual aid and co-

[1] "Remarks on 'Raising Mutual-Aid Organizations a Step Higher in the Old Liberated Areas' by Shansi Provincial Party Committee", July 3, 1951.

[2] "Instructions to An Tzu-wen and Others", January 23, 1950.

operation. And his futile purpose in all this was to hand the vast countryside over to the rich peasants and turn it into a base for the bourgeoisie to resist the proletariat.

Political power has always been the instrument by which one class oppresses another. If instead of developing socialism, the political power of the new China that had just come into being had developed capitalism, if instead of restricting the bourgeoisie it had restricted the proletariat, if instead of restricting the rich peasants it had restricted the poor peasants, and if instead of struggling against the bourgeoisie it had struggled against the proletariat and thereby completely abandoned the function it was called upon to fulfil — that of suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and safeguarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction — would there not have been a fundamental change in the nature of the political power of New China? Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head when he said:

What will happen if our country fails to establish a socialist economy? It will turn

into a country like Yugoslavia, in fact a bourgeois state, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will turn into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and, for that matter, into a reactionary, fascist dictatorship. This is a question which very much warrants our vigilance and I hope comrades will give it serious consideration.

(3)

When the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, do classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society? Should the dictatorship of the proletariat be maintained and the socialist revolution carried through to the end, or should the dictatorship of the proletariat be abolished and the way be paved for the restoration of capitalism? These important theoretical and practical problems were previously unresolved in the history of the international communist movement.

Again, at this crucial historical turning point, our great leader Chairman Mao published his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, his *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* and other works. These brilliant, epoch-making documents summarized the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and — for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism — provided a scientific, systematic and penetrating exposition of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society. This was an important landmark signifying that Marxism-Leninism had developed to a completely new stage — the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that in socialist society **"the class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tor-**

tuous and at times will even become very acute". He added that **"there are still a number of people who vainly hope to restore the capitalist system and fight the working class on every front, including the ideological one".**[1]

However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his utmost to spread the idea of "the dying out of class struggle". He made such absurd statements as: In our country, there are no more classes and class struggle. And "capitalists, landlords and rich peasants will all go into socialism".[2] "After that, there will be no revolutionary struggle, no land reform, nor socialist transformation", "there will be no battle ground for heroes to show their prowess, for there will be no landlord class or bourgeoisie for us to wipe out".[3]

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[1] **Mao Tse-tung,** *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,* **FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 37, p. 41.**

[2] Talk with a foreign guest on July 13, 1956.

[3] "Speech at the Shanghai Party Cadres' Conference", April 27, 1957.

"The dying out of class struggle!" This is a sheer lie. It is the same stuff as "a state of the whole people" and "a party of the entire people" which Khrushchov and company used in usurping the leadership of the Party and the state in the Soviet Union. It is the most shameful, most thoroughgoing betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Under cover of "the dying out of class struggle", the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road wanted to get the proletariat and other working people to lower their guard, so that landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ghosts and monsters of all kinds could emerge and launch wild attacks on the proletariat, break up the socialist economic base, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

During this period, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road mounted one frenzied attack after another on socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, sometimes out in the open, sometimes behind the scenes. Just before the bourgeois Rightists began their fierce on-

slaught in 1957, he viciously attacked the socialist system by alleging that "there is no system which is absolutely good" and that "it is no good regarding only our system as good and all others as unsatisfactory".[1] He advocated the bourgeois "two-chamber system", saying: "The People's Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress are in a sense in the nature of an Upper and a Lower House," adding: "only this is not specified in the Constitution."[2] He wanted to turn the People's Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress into a bourgeois type of Upper and Lower House, in tune with the idea of a "political planning institute" put forward by the bourgeois Rightist Chang Po-chun-Lo Lung-chi Alliance.

At the Lushan Meeting of the Party in 1959, he actively supported the big conspirator, careerist and warlord Peng Teh-

[1] Talk with foreigners on June 17, 1956.

[2] Speech at the Standing Committee Meeting of the National People's Congress, November 16, 1956.

huai, who styled himself a "Hai Jui",[1] and had vain hopes of overthrowing the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. After Peng Teh-huai's case was brought to light at the meeting, he continued to act in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai and, while instigating people from behind the scenes, plotted to tamper with the previously prepared summary of the meeting and turn it into a document directed against the "Left deviation" to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Later he openly attacked the Lushan Meeting and made absurd allegations such as that "the Lushan Meeting made a mistake"; "it should not have fought the Right deviation";[2]

[1] Hai Jui (1514-87) was a Ming Dynasty official. With a view to consolidating the dictatorship of the feudal landlord class over the peasantry so that their interests could be safeguarded, he wrote a memorial to the emperor criticizing his negligence in the affairs of state. — *Translator.*

[2] "Speech at Cadres' Forum of the Tsinan Military Area Command", July 9, 1964.

"it was wrong to combat the Right deviation"; "it left an aftermath throughout the country".[1]

Especially during the three years of temporary difficulties, he ganged up with all kinds of ghosts and monsters at home and abroad and worked even more frantically for a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism. He viciously attacked the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes. He clamoured that the economy was approaching the verge of bankruptcy; that "the situation is no excellent one";[2] "the economy is out of balance";[3] "three parts natural calamities and seven parts man-made disasters"; "acute contradictions have arisen in the worker-

[1] "Speech at the Forum of Secretaries of the Prefectural Party Committees of Hopei Province", July 2, 1964.

[2] "Speech at the 18th Supreme State Conference", March 21, 1962.

[3] "Instructions to the Shihchiachuang and Wusih Investigation Groups of the General Office of the Party's Central Committee", April 24, 1962.

peasant alliance". For his own ulterior motives, he demagogically proclaimed that the peasants "have no ease of mind", the workers "have no ease of mind", and the cadres, too, "cannot possibly have any ease of mind",[1] and so on and so forth.

He clamoured: "There should be an opposition; there should be an open opposition both among the people and within the Party."[2] This is how he prepared public opinion for the bourgeoisie to come to power.

He advocated the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses and the fixing of output quotas on the basis of households and actively encouraged "going it alone". He said: "Sufficient retreat should be made in industry and also in agriculture, even to the extent of fixing output quotas on the basis of households and of going it alone!";[3] "there

[1] "Speech at the Working Conference of the Party's Central Committee", May 31, 1961.

[2] "Speech at the Working Conference of the Party's Central Committee", February 8, 1962.

[3] Speech in June 1962.

is nothing to be frightened of if some bourgeois elements should emerge in society. There is no need to fear the flooding in of capitalism."[1]

With regard to the international struggle, he beat the drum for capitulation to the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries of different countries and favoured stamping out the flames of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples; he advocated liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples. He said: "Even as regards the United States, we hope to improve our relationships with it too." He even aspired to "develop friendly relations"[2] with the U.S. He asserted that Khrushchov "could not possibly restore capitalism in the Soviet Union", that Khrushchov was "truly" opposed to imperialism and that "we should unite with him", "seek common ground while

[1] Speech on October 22, 1961.

[2] Talk with a foreign guest on March 6, 1963.

reserving differences" and "together oppose imperialism".[1] He went so far as to tell the Communist Party of Burma to lay down its arms, alleging: "Weapons can be done without, they can be buried underground, or troops can be reorganized into the national defence forces";[2] and "co-operate" with Ne Win. "To what end?" "To carry out a socialist revolution."[3]

In August 1962, he again issued his sinister book on "self-cultivation", which betrays the dictatorship of the proletariat and leads people to become more revisionist the more they cultivate themselves according to it. The book became the "theme song" of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in their attempts to create public opinion for the restoration of capitalism!

These shocking and revolting facts of the struggle show that after the capitalist economic base was in the main destroyed, the top

[1] Talk with foreign comrades on June 27, 1962.

[2] Talk with foreigners on April 26, 1963.

[3] Talk with foreign comrades on July 20, 1963.

Party person in authority taking the capitalist road daily and hourly engaged in criminal activities for the restoration of capitalism. Particularly during the three years of temporary difficulties, he bared his fangs and hoisted the black anti-Party ensign calling for "an opposition" and to turn the clock back. He launched an all-round attack against the Party and socialism on the political, economic and ideological-cultural fronts, thus presenting an extremely serious threat to the political power of the proletariat.

If things had developed according to his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, drastic class differentiation would have occurred in the countryside; new bourgeois elements would have appeared in great numbers in the cities; the masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants would have had a second dose of suffering and sunk back into the miserable life of slaves and beasts of burden; our country's socialist economic base would have been utterly destroyed; a complete change would have taken place in the nature of our proletarian state power and history would have been turned back on to

the old road leading to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. What a disastrous situation it would have been!

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962, our great leader Chairman Mao issued the great call **"never forget class struggle"** and sounded the clarion for the proletariat to launch an all-round mass counter-attack against the bourgeoisie. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was now like "a locust in late autumn", nearer to his doom with each passing day!

(4)

The history of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that political power remains the most fundamental of all questions in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Summing up the rich historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world and taking into account the grave fact that the top Party person in authority taking

the capitalist road was plotting a restoration of capitalism, our great leader Chairman Mao personally aroused the hundreds of millions of the revolutionary people and led them in launching the unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution. From then on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has entered a new, and still deeper and broader stage. It is a great and decisive battle between Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

In that historic document, the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao pointed out:

> **Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of**

> **them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.**

By "persons like Khrushchov" nestling beside us, Chairman Mao was referring to none other than the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois headquarters headed by him.

Why was Chairman Mao's revolutionary line resisted and opposed time and again over the past seventeen years? Why did an undercurrent favouring a restoration of capitalism come to the surface again and again? Primarily it is because a bourgeois headquarters had entrenched itself in the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this bourgeois headquarters was the greatest menace to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the greatest danger to the socialist state.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has sounded the death-knell for the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Struggling in wild desperation as they saw their end approaching, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in collusion with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, formulated and put into operation a bourgeois reactionary line. They countered Chairman Mao's directive by sending out a large number of work-teams to suppress the revolutionary mass movement. In Tsinghua University and at the No. 1 Middle School affiliated to the Peking Teachers' Training University, where the movement was directly under the guidance of China's Khrushchov, the spearhead of struggle was aimed at the revolutionary masses and a number of revolutionaries were labelled "counter-revolutionaries". As for the cadres, his policy was to hit hard at many in order to protect a handful. One issue of the bulletin of the work-team in Peking University, which was circulated with his approval, described a revolutionary incident as a counter-revolu-

tionary incident, and he called on the whole country to follow suit and to impose a white terror, encircling and suppressing revolutionaries and instigating one section of the masses to fight another, and he did all this in a vain attempt to stamp out the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution ignited by Chairman Mao himself.

At this crucial moment our great leader Chairman Mao convened the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, published his big-character poster **"Bombard the Headquarters",** a poster of great historic significance, and personally guided the drawing up of the **Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.** This thoroughly exposed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, proclaimed the bankruptcy of the bourgeois reactionary line he had been pushing and the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is another great contribution by Chairman

Mao to the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Led by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao himself, the revolutionary masses throughout the country have carried the revolutionary mass movement to ever greater heights and they have finally exposed this No. 1 agent of the bourgeoisie within the Party and his gang of scoundrels. In the upsurge of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation which has been launched throughout the country, he and his gang are now caught in a net from which there is no escape, cast by the hundreds of millions of revolutionary armymen and people. They resemble the proverbial "rats scurrying across the street with everyone yelling: Beat them! Beat them!" What is this "monstrous creature", this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, actually like? His own criminal history of sham revolution and actual counter-revolution in the past forty years and more provides the irrefutable answer. The evidence of these crimes is con-

clusive. The iron-clad proofs pile up mountain high. Can he then absolve himself by deception, by denials or by resistance? **"We ask the God of Plague: 'Where are you bound?' Paper barges aflame and candle-light illuminate the sky."**[1]

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a major event for our great people. In the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought the sea of red flags surges forward, the masses in their hundreds of millions are fighting and studying, and are criticizing and repudiating the bourgeoisie. Mao Tse-tung's thought has become their food, their weapon and their compass. They vow to be good fighters of Chairman Mao. They vow to ensure that the proletarian state will never change its colour! Mao Tse-tung's thought has united the hundreds of millions into an all-conquering, invincible material force that is shaking the old world and creating the new.

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[1] **From Chairman Mao's poem** *Farewell to the God of Plague.* **According to an old custom, people burnt paper barges and lit candles to send off spirits.**

* * *

"Only socialism can save China!"[1]

All through the past decades, our great teacher, leader, supreme commander and helmsman Chairman Mao has commanded the mighty army of the revolution, and has directed it to pursue the tottering foe, to bind the Grey Dragon, and to make great plans and attack all that is corrupt and evil. He has steered the ship of the Chinese revolution forward through the torrents, bypassing the hidden reefs, braving the storms and advancing in triumph. He has brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage — the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that the new-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the new-democratic revolution. Following the victory of the new-democratic revolution, it was necessary, without interruption, for the revolution to move on to the stage of socialism.

[1] **Mao Tse-tung,** *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,* **FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 15.**

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and that only with guns can the old world under the rule of imperialism and all reaction be transformed.

It is Chairman Mao who has taught us that after seizing political power, the proletariat must persist in and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and keep to the socialist road. No matter how many things we may have to do, we must never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is Chairman Mao who personally initiated the great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution, and who has taught us that classes and class struggle continue to exist throughout the historical period of socialist society, and that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution must be carried through to the end.

"The East is red; the sun rises; Mao Tse-tung has appeared in China."

The orientation given by Chairman Mao is the orientation for the revolutionary peo-

ple of the whole world. The road which he has opened up is the road along which the revolutionary people of the whole world will advance.

Whither China? Whither the world? The wheel of history is moving in the direction pointed out by Mao Tse-tung's thought!

走社会主义道路，
还是走资本主义道路？

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